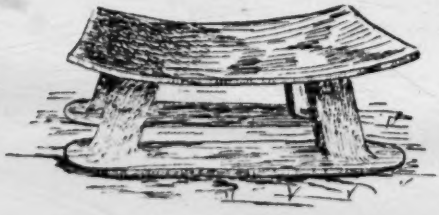
/186 cont./

415 252 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on the ground, having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head [462] of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively women's work.

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro the civilized adopted it as well as the tipití (VI -- 2, d (1)).

A 192 • 352 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kũ-mũ-rõ (Uaupés kũmũ-no), is in general use, although its specialized producers are the Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Cõuma guianensis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze. Today, instead of the syó-a, they use a digging iron or even an adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mũ-rõ)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40 centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style, however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions. It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

[531] [824] They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the traditional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mẽ'rẽ (Uaupés mẽ'nẽ).

/187 cont./

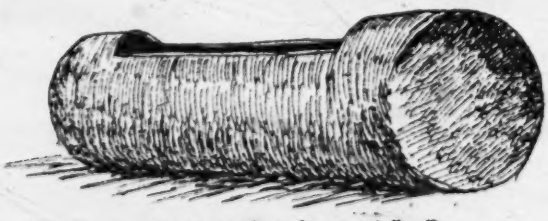
• 352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 276 [796] [178] /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utíkaro yaxpú or also utíkaro seré, or again mõrõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú emapú). In the dabacuris /religious celebrations/ the use of tobacco in the form of a large cigar, utíkaro, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utíkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 273 415 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pêru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú iwá, hence the term ubá, which means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pêru juxkõ-sõ)

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2) Sleeping hammocks.

The Indian never sleeps on the ground, always in hammocks (24),

> 24. Through contact with the civilized they have learned to sleep on the floor or quarter-deck of the launches, and later also on benches and chests.

pũghõ, and they carry them with them on their travels. The hammock /191/ meets perfectly the demands of the climate of the region, warm and humid, since it is cool, ventilated, light, small in volume, and, woven, as it usually is, out of tucum (25),

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> 25. The "hammock of thirty threads" of the Makú is usually made of thick threads of miritĩ.

it presents sufficient resistance and durability. They make it in different sizes, for children as well as for adults. There are three types of hammocks for sleeping:

a) Rede de trinta fios /hammock of thirty threads/. This is the common name in Portuguese; in Nheengatu it is called kisáw, and in Tukano neé pũ-ghõ, that is, hammock of miritĩ. It is made without the use of a loom. They make thirty or more turns around two stakes, as far apart as the length desired; always, however, longer than the body of the one who is to use it. These threads are joined in two clews /Port. punhos/, like a ring, pũ-ỹa-põ, by means of which the hammock will be suspended. Transversally, at a right angle, pass the threads that determine the width of the hammock, tied to the horizontal ones by knots in such a way that small rectangles of one span more or less result.

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Due to its simplicity, it is known and produced by all the tribes, although it is called "rede de Makú" /Makú hammock/. Because of this depreciatory name, and mainly because of the present ease of acquiring more durable and economical cotton hammocks from the civilized, it is beginning to lose its acceptance among the Indians of the other tribes and today is found almost solely among the Makú and the tribes without contact with the civilized. The Tukano tell of having learned from the Desāna how to make this type of hammock. They were not able to clarify whether they had previously used the rede-puçá /puçá hammock/, or if they knew the hammock and slept on platforms.

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b) Beaten hammock. In Tukano it is called pá-tuke, and in Nheengatú, makíra. It is manufactured with a very simple loom (26).

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26. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 340) is of the opinion that the loom is of European origin. This opinion seems acceptable to us, and we believe one could say that the form of the "rede batida" /beaten hammock/ as well is not of native origin, but learned from the civilized. This conclusion is confirmed by: 1st, the fact that not many Indian women know how to make the "rede batida"; 2nd, those who presently know how to do it (as is shown by our inquiries) learned it in the Mission schools or from the alumnae of the Missíon; 3rd, we know that the Governador of the Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, Lobo D'Almada, in his economic plan to encourage industry, favored the weaver's trade, aiming at "the making of the cloth needed for the uniforms of the garrison, the colonists, and the Indians who came down, using eighteen looms and ten spinning wheels, with twenty-four spindles each. In 1798 only 157 Indian women were working as spinners"

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797 /191 cont./

177 /footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by
174 the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths,
286 napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit
modern taste.

*192 /192/ pũ-pá:-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks
286 connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp)
• 352 has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes
are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the
distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and
thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pá:-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pá:-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some 10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the ouriço /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers
[237] of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays
[531] beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

/193 cont./

*192 286 352 *[115] [797]

c) Puçá hammock. In Tukano one says pũ piõke; we call it puçá hammock because it is similar, in the knots, to the fishing nets called puçá in the Lingua Geral (27).

27. Pe. Ezequiel Lopes tells that around 1931, among the little Pirá-tapúya Indians from the river Papurí who came to enroll as boarding-school students at the Iauareté school (river Uaupés), some appeared equipped with the puçá type of sleeping hammock.

In order to make this type of hammock, one uses a loom somewhat different from what we have seen previously. It consists of two pairs of vertical staffs, with the small separation of one span more or less. A more variable space lies between one pair and another and marks the length of the hammock desired.

Two threads are stretched horizontally, at a distance of 3 to 4 centimeters apart. Between them the woman starts to make knots or stitches like those of a casting net. They stretch two more threads horizontally, and new stitches are interlaced with the first ones, and so on successively.

This type of hammock is perhaps more work than the "beaten" one. The Tukano call it pũ pỹõke, because the line is run through, piõ: and the knot is made by hand.

3) Fishing nets (puçá).

227 284 *[192]

The Tukano call them wehẽ-kõ (28)

28. The Salesian Missionary Pe. Eduardo Lagório makes the following observation: "The verb to kill, wehẽ, is interesting; it is used almost exclusively to indicate the death of fish and animals. For human beings, having almost no violent murders, they use the expressions related to the various methods of poisoning."

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

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The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

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Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

/p. 62-B/

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ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

/p. 70-B/

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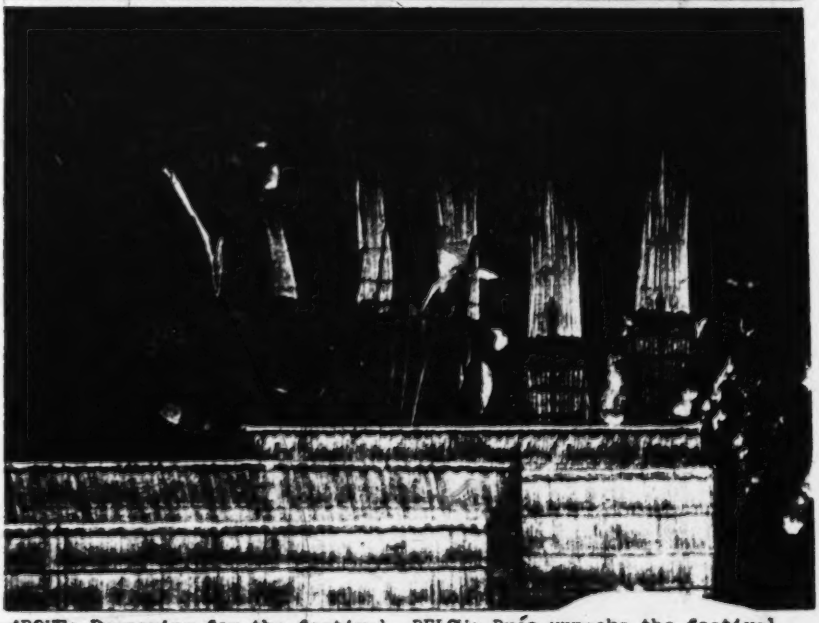

ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.